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Report on European Trip,

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THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS1. Character and Objectives.

The Communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) is the international front through which the USSR coordinates its propaganda and tactics in the field of labor in the free world.

Consisting of a headquarters in Vienna's Soviet sector, "field" offices, and affiliated unions, the WFTU has a claimed total membership exceeding eighty millions. Its actual numerical strength, which in any case is concentrated in Soviet-Satellite countries, is probably smaller than the claim. Nevertheless, the WFTU is a real threat to the stability of non-Communist countries, for its main objective is to muster broad popular support for the Soviet/Communist program under the guise of a "labor unity" drive.

The USSR, speaking through the Communist leaders of the WFTU, has recently underscored its intention to develop a strong offensive in the labor field. The WFTU has been assigned a leading role in this offensive which aims at gaining control over non-Communist labor.

As a vital arm of Soviet power, the WFTU is very closely controlled by the USSR. Its policies are made in Moscow. Most of its funds derive from affiliated unions in the Soviet bloc, where trade unions are simply instruments of the government. Not even routine administrative matters are left to non-Soviet judgment: Soviet representatives planted

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in key positions in the WFTU headquarters staff are in daily telephone contact with Moscow and exercise minute control over WFTU business.

The WFTU does not control its affiliated unions in the sense of supervising their day-to-day activities and administrative affairs. This is done by the local Communist Party through the officials which the Party has placed in control of the union. The WFTU merely promotes and supports policy decisions and tactical guidance developed by the USSR in terms adapted to this particular mass organization. The WFTU is a typical Communist front in that it pretends to be "democratic" and "independent," albeit friendly to the USSR. The purpose of this camouflage is to unite a large number of rank-and file non-Communists under a control which is careful to avoid committing the members to "advanced" Communist revolutionary programs. The WFTU aims, at present, at enlisting support for more limited Communist objectives. WFTU leaders have lately taken special pains to emphasize that the WFTU is not a Communist Party, but a "mass organization, comprising workers with many different political sympathies." This does not deter the WFTU and its affiliates in areas where the local Communist Party is numerically weak from spearheading the Communist attack on anti-Communist governments and other political parties. Nor should it be understood to mean that the WFTU will continue indefinitely and everywhere to fight for non-revolutionary objectives. The organization's present platform is purely tactical.

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In addition to its major propaganda function, the WFTU also collects industrial, economic, social, political, and military information. Necessary for organizational work, for propaganda, and for tactical operations, much of this information nevertheless undoubtedly finds its way into Soviet intelligence channels.

Finally, the WFTU participates in campaigns carried on by other international Communist fronts (such as the "Peace" Movement and the World Federation of Democratic Youth), and also provides advanced training for Communist labor organizers.

2. Activities and Services.

Propaganda. As an important Soviet propaganda agency, the WFTU consistently and voluminously supports all elements of Soviet foreign and domestic policy. The principal "slogans" of the WFTU are, currently, aimed against EDC and other forms of Western cooperation; and its tactics are designed to produce maximum labor opposition to anti-Soviet policies through subversion of the non-Communist labor unions that support these policies. The main tactical slogan is "unity in action" for "national independence and national liberation," raising the standard of living, "defense of trade union rights," for peace (on Communist terms) in Indochina, and against the "remilitarization of Germany."

The principal WFTU publication is World Trade Union Movement, a fortnightly of 30-50 pages published in nine different language editions.

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The WFTU propaganda line is given even wider local circulation through publications of its affiliates.

The WFTU holds numerous international meetings and conferences, attended by delegates from all over the world. These are given full propaganda exploitation. The meetings inevitably produce resolutions, appeals, manifestos, and letters of protest, which are widely circulated through all available Communist media. WFTU personalities customarily attend similar meetings and conferences sponsored by other international Communist fronts.

Finances. The WFTU is an important channel for the transmission of Soviet funds to support labor unrest and political action in non-Communist countries.

The WFTU's budget total is not known. It has been estimated that if all its affiliates paid their dues at the prescribed rate, income from dues would amount to over \$600,000 annually. However, it is reasonably certain that most of the affiliates in the free world contribute little or nothing to the WFTU. WFTU expenditures are largely covered by contributions from affiliates within the Soviet bloc.

In addition to dues, the WFTU administers a "solidarity fund," which is built up by contributions from affiliates in the Soviet orbit to support strikers outside the orbit.

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Whatever the actual totals, it is known that WFTU expenditures are substantial. The WFTU regularly sends bank drafts for sums as

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meeting of its Executive Bureau. Many of the delegates and "observers" attending WFTU meetings are brought to the meeting at WFTU expense. The small WFTU office for liaison with the United Nations, alone, cost over \$10,000 in 1951. The WFTU has also paid the salary of a leading

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Congress for general support of the Congress.

Labor Unrest. The WFTU promotes labor unrest throughout the free world. In 1949, one of its Canadian affiliates began a seamen's strike which the WFTU quickly encouraged to spread into France, Italy, and North Africa. French and Italian affiliates carried out strikes and slow-downs against the receipt of MDAP shipments and the shipping of material to Indochina during 1949-1950. At the Third Congress of the WFTU (Vienna, October 1953) Secretary-General Louis SAILLANT stated, "We need to stimulate, develop and create... militancy everywhere. This is the main task of our organization, the WFTU, the Trade

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Union Internationals, national centers, national unions and local unions." According to the Soviet publication New Times, Saillant stated that the development of strikes was a means to "heighten militancy." The Congress endorsed and encouraged the spread to other countries of special tactics employed by its affiliates in France and Italy, such as the "reverse strike," occupation of untilled land by agricultural workers, and of factories in the process of closing down. Since the Congress, there has been a wave of strikes throughout the world--many of them involving Communist unions alone, but the majority involving non-Communist unions as well, in implementation of the "unity of action" policy established at the Third World Congress. Efficiently organized and effective 24-hour strikes have been called in Italy, France and England. The British strike was spearheaded by the Communist controlled Amalgamated Engineering Union, and soon spread to other industries, affecting in particular the engineering and shipbuilding trades, and some transport. In Japan, there has been a mass strike of public servants and employees of the National Railways. When the Japanese government adopted a "wait and see" attitude, the WFTU affiliated national labor union, SOHYO, warned the Government that it must accede to the workers demands or face a general strike throughout the country. Strikes also occurred among port workers of Karachi, Pakistan; and Calcutta, India; in the oil fields in Basra, Iraq; and among transport and

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communications workers in France and government workers in Italy.

Communications. There are indications that the WFTU has a special courier service operating between Vienna and Moscow, Trieste,

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operation as late as July 1953. Official Soviet communications facilities (military telephones and vehicles, couriers and diplomatic pouch) are used by the WFTU headquarters in Vienna.

Intelligence. One of the WFTU's most important functions is the collection of industrial and other intelligence. In 1950, a Latin American labor conference was designated a "Conference of Information" by the WFTU. Delegations of the participating countries were directed to bring information on "production, industrial development, agricultural problems...degree of imperialist penetration in industry, commerce, economy of the state, administrative machinery,...defense, treaties signed; state budget--how it is distributed among the various ministries--and so forth. The highly diversified information targets of the WFTU,

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some of which (such as "State budget," treaties with the imperialists, et. al) are only distantly related to legitimate trade union activity, are clearly indicated in this outline. More recently, the WFTU's Trade Union International of Transport, Port and Fishery Workers instructed its affiliates to submit answers to detailed questionnaires concerning the make-up of the "European transport pool" which is considered an "imperialist threat" by the Communists.

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Exporters Digest for November 1952 (contains information on American investment abroad, MSA expenditures, etc.)

Daily Freight Record for 17 November 1952. (Detailed shipping information).

Program for Disposal to Private Industry of Government-owned Rubber Producing Facilities, by Harry MacDonald, Administrator, March 1953.

Ammunition Supplies in the Far East. Hearings before the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, 83rd Congress, 1st Session.

Interim Report on Moroccan Air Base Construction and Second Report on Moroccan Air Base Construction, Senate Armed Forces Committee, 82nd and 83rd Congresses.

Military Assistance in Latin America, U. S. Dept. of State, March 1953.

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Training. In February 1953, the WFTU Executive Bureau officially established a program to train WFTU personnel in a "cadre school" which was to open/early Spring. Prior to this time the WFTU had been training select groups of young trade union leaders at its headquarters. It is known that several groups of Iranian and other Middle Eastern labor leaders had received instruction while serving at the Vienna Secretariat. In May the Trade Union International of the Transport, Port and Fishery Workers established a training school in Prague, and in July 1953, following the International Conference of the World Federation of Teacher's Unions in Vienna, two special seminars for the indoctrination of teachers were held in that city. Each course lasted approximately 15 days. More recently, the WFTU has been paying the costs of the training of several groups of

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in a special WFTU school at Budapest. The WFTU course consists of a short tour through the Satellites, including a two-week stay in Prague, followed by study in Budapest. The course lasts approximately three months. In addition to furnishing the students with food, lodging and transportation, the WFTU gives them about \$50 per month for expenses.

3. Strength

When first created in 1945, the WFTU included non-Communist affiliates. For the next four years, the non-Communists fought against

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Communist efforts to take over complete control. The non-Communist unions withdrew from the WFTU in 1949.

Prior to its most recent Congress, held in the Soviet sector of Vienna in October 1953, the WFTU is estimated to have had a total membership of about 65 million (against a claimed strength of 80 million). About 75% of the total are members of affiliates in Communist countries. The two strongest affiliates (CGT in France, CGIL in Italy) claim a total membership of over 8.6 million, but their real strength is probably closer to 4.5 million. This leaves the WFTU with a claimed membership strength of 6.7 million outside the Soviet bloc, France and Italy. According to State Department estimates, this claim is probably an exaggeration, and the real membership of these other affiliates probably totals no more than 3 million.

4. Organization. (See Chart)

The WFTU consists of a headquarters, a number of regional offices, and affiliated unions.

The Headquarters comprises policy-making organs (Executive Committee and the nucleus of the Executive Committee, called the Executive Bureau) and an administrative staff (Secretariat). The Secretariat, which is the executive office of the WFTU, is quartered in Vienna.

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Under the Secretariat are three operating departments, each headed by an Assistant Secretary of the WFTU:

(1) Department of Relations with National Centers, Press and Information: further broken down into five geographic Bureaus and a Press and Information Section, which publishes the WFTU's fortnightly propaganda review, World Trade Union Movement.

This Department has always been headed by a Soviet citizen, a fact that shows its importance.

(2) Department of Trade Union Internationals (see below).

(3) Economic and Social Department: deals with WFTU relations with United Nations, International Labor Organization and other organizations. The WFTU maintains an office in New York City for liaison with the UN.

A number of administrative offices (stenographic, finances, translations) also work for the Secretariat.

The "field" offices of the WFTU, set up to coordinate activities and propaganda in different regions of the world, include a Far East Bureau at Peking and a Latin American Bureau at Mexico City. A Near and Middle East Bureau exists on paper, but is believed to be simply the Vienna office of Iraj ISKANDARY, Special Assistant Secretary for Near and Middle Eastern Affairs. Two "coordinating committees" were created to handle WFTU affairs in French Africa in 1951, and a

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similar Coordination Committee was established for British West Africa in 1953. At the October 1953 Congress of the WFTU, it was announced that these "field" offices had not been sufficiently energetic, and that steps would be taken to make them so.

Labor unions are affiliated with the WFTU in one or both of two ways: through membership in a Communist labor federation ("National Center") or through membership in one of the Trade Union Internationals (TUI's). There are eleven TUI's, which are international labor organizations set up "vertically" for unions in a given key industry (e.g., Textile and Clothing; Mining; etc.). Each TUI has its own headquarters staff, but the TUI's are administered by the Department of Trade Union Internationals at Vienna.

The most prominent WFTU officials are Giuseppe DI VITTORIO (Italy; President); Louis SAILLANT (France; General Secretary), N. M. SHVERNIK (USSR; one of 9 Vice Presidents), Vicente LOMBARDO Toledano (Mexico; a Vice President of WFTU and President of the CTAL, or Confederation of Latin American Labor). Of prime importance are the less prominent Soviet representatives planted in the WFTU Headquarters Staff: Peter KOSAKOV (Assistant Secretary General for National Centers, Press and Information) and Vladimir ROSTERGUJEW (apparently the number-two Soviet representative).